TL4625

MEMO

TO: SOLIDARITY COMMITEES NATURE: RESTICTED

FROM: José Ramos Horta, special representative of CNRM

Date: 28.05.92

Subject: ON THE IDEAS FOR NEGOTIATION WITH INDONESIA

1. On 23 April and on 14th May i outlined before European Parliament in Bruxels and the Council of Foreign Relations in New York, respectively, a set of ideas which in my view could be explored further, if and when the Indonesian side were to accept Xanana Gusmão (and Portuguese government's) proposal of dialogue without pre-conditions under U.N. auspices.

2. The concept of dialogue without pre-conditions presuposes that neither side in the conflict should expect the other side to change its fundamental position on the status of the territory. On our side Portugal remains and would remain the administring power of East Timor. For Indonesia East Timor would remain its 27th province". However these two positions,diametrically opposed, should not be an obstacle for the two sides to seat down at the conference table.

3. The ideas i outlined are a follow up to this basic negotiating stand. There is nowhere, there is nothing, there is not one single word in the two texts which i presented where there was any mention of the word sovereignty, one way or the other. A careful reading of phase one would clarify to anyone that in fact during this phase the international status of East Timor would be strengthen. Please read carefully line by line and word by word of phase one.

4. Phase two is in fact the transition period. While the word might be a tabu for many it is the incentive for Indonesia. However again please read carefuly phase two before jumping into conclusions.
The autonomy as i describe in this phase is far more important, juridically, diplomatically, and politically than any other similar experience in Indonesia itself. Again East Timor remains in this phase an international territory, nominaly and juridically, whith Portugal as the administrating power. There is no mention at all in phase two of the issue of sovereignty.

5. At the end of phase two which would be five years, there will have to be a referendum if the local People's Assembly by a two third vote wishes to recomend to the people another five year autonomy. So please note that i am not leaving to the People's Assembly the power to decid alone to extend the autonomy phase for another five years. Remember again that the United Nations would be involved in the second phase.

6. Questions might be asked about the timming of the announcement of these ideas. I would start by saying that as a diplomat i try first to have a global vision of the whole Timor problemm. My audiences cannot be restricted to a handful of people. I have to take into consideration the forces that might impact upon Indonesia. The timming is the Indonesian elections and the Hall's Bill in the United States congress. In the weeks preceeding negotiations with Indonesia i thought it important to influence and channel the debate on East Timor arround our own initiatives, instead of us being passive agents. My ideas as you know have been widly publicised in Indonesia and Australia.

7. These are some of the clarifications that i wanted to make so that you will understand the reasons behind my ideas.

José Ramos Horta

Lisbon, 28 May 1992